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A
P R O P O S A L
FOR ALTERING THE
METHOD and MANNER
OF ELECTING

MEMBERS of the House of Commons.

In a DIALOGUE between *PHILO-^KANGLUS* and
EQUITATIUS, on ENGLAND's present Danger, it's
future Happinefs : And on an Equitable Election of the House
of Commons.

Publish'd by *EQUITATIUS*, at the Request of *PHILO-ANGLUS*,
with the Approbation of many impartial Gentlemen,
Lovers of Truth, Equity, and Public Tranquility.

Ask for the good old Way, and walk in it, and ye shall find Rest for your Souls.
----- *Let us not say, we will not walk therein.* Jer. vi. 16. ver. 13. to 29.

*Laws and Customs that were originally Good, ought to be perpetual and duly
observ'd and obey'd. But if Bad, Psal. xcvi. 20. the longer they continue the
worse ; and the sooner they are abrogated the better.*

No Use, or Custom, ought to plead Prescription in a bad Cause.

*What cant't be done by the Body of the People united in Concert to carry any
Point of great Importance, in an amicable Manner, without Riots or rebellious
Insurrections, as the late Election of the Prince of Orange was in general.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for M. COOPER, at the Globe, in Pater-noster-Row. 1747.

[Price One Shilling.]

PROPOSAL

FOR A BETTER
METHOD AND MANNER

MEMBERS of the House of Commons

in a DISCUSSION
RESPECTING the
MANNER of
conducting the
Business of the
House of Commons



Published by
the
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A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

PHILO-ANGLUS

AND

EQUITATIUS, &c.



PHILO-ANGLUS, (who lately dy'd) was a Gentleman of good Estate, and a hearty Well-wisher, not only to *England*, but to all Mankind, and a free Contributor to the Public Good pecuniarily; but avoided having a Hand in Public Affairs, perhaps out of a Distrust of his own Sufficiency, being of a timorous Nature.

B

Equitatus

Equitatus is equally a Well-wisher to Mankind, and of a more active Spirit, and greater Fortitude, and Presence of Mind, in time of Danger, and had made a greater Inspection into public Affairs.

Their Discourse, on the above Topic, began last Winter on P's being frightened, at the *French* Threats to invade us with sixteen or twenty Thousand Men; on which he sighed, and said to *E.* (they being together alone) *Oh! when will ENGLAND be SAFE, EASY, and HAPPY.*

To which *E.* reply'd, Sir, since you desire my Opinion, I will give it you, both negatively and positively.

As to the present *French* bullying Threats of invading us, I fear it not, but despise it. They dare not, they cannot do it. We, with our Allies, shall fill their Hands too full of Business elsewhere; tho' I doubt we shall not exert ourselves so far, as to turn the Scale thoroughly the next Campaign. But I hope we shall not make a bad Peace, for that will but prepare the Way to worse Evils, and make us less able to bear them, or to extricate ourselves out of them.

We and our Allies are under a Disadvantage, in that an Army entirely under one Head, can be more alert than an aggregated Army, under many Heads; and all of us generally are governed by that ill Policy, of beginning a War weak-handed, which is the Cause of it's long Continuance and great Loss, and double and treble Expence; it may be vastly more; and want of good Success, and of a good Peace at last. We neglect our Lord and Saviour's wise Council,
given

given us for good Ends, *Luke* xiv, 31, Chap. xii. 39, 40. and the *French* use it for evil Ends.

Our County Subscriptions, and the thirteen Regiments raised in a short Time in 1745, shews what we are able to do, if we would exert our Ability: And every Pound given in Time would save Ten or Twenty in the whole; compared with the Load of Debts brought upon us by Delays, and keeping the Money in our Pockets, or to purchase Lands, at the Hazzard of being taken from us by our Enemies, and entailing the Load of Debts on our Posterity, it may be for Two hundred Years before it is quite clear'd.

But they indeed can bear it very well, that let out their Money to the Public from Eight to Fourteen *per Cent.* and ever since get vastly by Stock-Jobbing those Debts, to the general Detriment of the Kingdom.

And those Subscriptions shows how soon and well, the Nation might be effectually serv'd, by a pecuniary Equitation Tax, in Proportion to the Rank and Ability of every Man.

But indeed our greatest Danger of Ruin, is from ourselves another Way; and not so much on Party-Account, as from ill Policy, and being built on a sandy Foundation, and Mountain of Corruption; and not on a firm and well establish'd Rock of Equity.

P. How Sir, can there be a better Foundation than a Legislature, consisting of a King, Lords and Commons?

E. Not if the Commons were built up, and well fixed on an equitable Foundation; and not on a rotten one, near falling to Destruction.

P. I apprehend you find fault, with what you cannot mend, and it is a dangerous thing to alter Foundations; and what you say will breed Discontent, and may bring you into a Premunire.

E. I acknowledge Sir, it is not in my Power, to mend what is amiss; but it may, and ought to be mended: And I hope my freedom of Speech will not be thought a Crime, nor give Offence: As what I offer for Approbation, tends only to prevent our impending Ruin, and to promote and establish our Safety, Tranquility and Happiness.

P. Sir, you and I have been long acquainted, and I have had a greater Respect for you, than for any neighbouring Gentleman. But I think I cannot agree with You in altering our Foundation: However, pray explain yourself, and then I'll tell you my further Thoughts of that Matter.

E. It seems very plain to me Sir, that Equity is the only firm Basis to fix upon. And I look upon it not only a want of Equity, but dangerous to the Government, and Governed: That we have thirty-nine more Members of the House of Commons, in the twelve Counties on our South Coast, from East to West, than in all *England* besides. — And those twelve Counties produce more Wool, than all the rest of the Kingdom; and lie best for clandestine Trade, and do furnish our most inveterate Enemies with our Wool for Wine, and not for Money. And our Wool is as the Vital Blood of the Nation: And our chief Treasure given to our Enemies. When by our Manufacturing it at Home, our Enemies must be forced to buy a great Part of our Woolen Manufacture of us; which would employ a great abundance of industrious Hands, and greatly enrich us, and impoverish our Enemies; and by both, enable us to protect ourselves,

ourselves, and to make those Enemies very submissive to us, and peaceable with our Allies.

But as the Case now stands, and whilst the twelve Counties that gain by the Nations Loss; have so great a Majority in the House of Commons, and live and act as lawless Lords, over the rest of the Kingdom; and keep them as Slaves to their Tyranny: Equitable Laws can never be expected, or the Nation enjoy their native Property, and political Life's Blood, our Wool; but let it go to enrich and strengthen our Enemies, and impoverish and weaken ourselves.

And is it not very unequal to have Forty Four Members, for a County that has but one, or few good Towns in it, and Thirty Four for another County, that has but few good Towns, and Twenty Six, and Twenty in others; and to have but Four or Six for some other wealthy Counties, that have more good Towns in them.—Strict Equity ought in Justice to be observed in all Things; and there is no other good or firm Foundation, in Government and social Happiness.

And is it not very Impolitic, as well as unjust, to have many small and poor Towns, have each Two Representatives in Parliament, and many wealthy and large Towns none? And such as pay very largely to the Support of the Common Wealth, to which the small Towns are rather burthensome Pensioners, than Benefactors.

Nor is that all that is bad in it, for those small Towns have many indigent Voters that are made poor, by being brought to a Habit of Idleness and Drunkenness, by the Candidates, to the great Impoverishment of their Families, and the Kingdom too; and the Money they get for Voting is (like to many
C Sailors

Sailors Pay) seldom put in their Pockets, but spent in Alehouses, which keeps them from working till all is gone, and they can't get any longer trust for Liquors. Each Party become inveterate Enemies to one another, using the most impious Imprecations, and profane Gods Holy Name, quarrel, fight, wound, maim, and disable Men to work, and sometimes kill one another.

Is it not therefore mean for Gentlemen Candidates, to beg and pray the poor Wretches that have Votes, kiss the Dirty, drunken Drabs, their Wives; and suffer themselves to be ill treated by them, by the Sots their Husbands; and by such Practices, become scandalous to the whole World.

P. I acknowledge Sir, the Case is scandalous, ruinous and deplorable; but I think there is no Remedy, or that the Attempt will be worse than the Disease. There has been many Acts made for near Sixty Years past, besides some for Three Hundred Years past, to prevent that Evil, and all have proved in effectual.

E. Yes Sir, and if they go on for a Thousand Years more, in same Track of Elections, all their additional Clauses will prove in effectual, and fixing on a firm Foundation, is the only Cure.

P. Altering the ancient Foundation of States, have turned them to Anarchy and Ruin, and may do so by ours.

E. That Sir, has indeed, been sometimes the Case, but not always; for we have many Instances of bad Foundations of States being removed, and new ones being layed; that have proved very good, and made unhappy Nations very happy.—But
what

what I propose, is not changing the whole Foundation, nor any Part of it intirely ; but only mending one Part, in such Parts of it as absolutely want mending ; which may be done without Riots, or Convulsions in the State. But not without altering one thing previously, that is absolutely necessary. And that is, to be so wise and honest in every County, as we have lately been in some ; in having all their Estates register'd, and all Lands forfeited, that are not fully and equitably register'd, by their Rent-Rolls, and Tenants Receipts. And on this just Foundation to levy our Land Tax equitably.

Had this been done at first, at Three Shillings in the Pound, when it was rated at Four, and that, and other necessary Taxes, been given in *October*, that were Post poned to *April* or *May*, or once, if not more till *June*, and prevented our timely Proceedings against our Enemies, and made us to go on slow and weak Handed, and forced us to borrow Money at 8, 10, 12 and 14 *per Cent.* or we might have conquered our Enemies in a short Time, and kept the Nation free from Debt. -- But in many Places, Men payed but for a Part of their Estates, and at 6, 8, 10 12, to 18 Pence in the Pound at most, and do so still, to the great Increase of our publick Debt, and to our Inability to maintain the War with Success. — And the false Plea for paying less in remote Parts of the Country ; ought not to be admitted ; for the Members are but a small Number of Men of Estates in each County ; and their Charge in travelling but a Trifle, compared with the Cheapness of their living at Home, where 500 *l. per Annum* will do more than 1000 *l. per Annum* in and near *London*. And many of them live upon the *London* Members, or on those that live near it, all the Time of the Sessions.

And

And their saying that *London* Markets make Rents better paid, in and near *London*, than in remote Parts, is a false Plea; for as *London* is a Market to all *England*, (and in Part to *Scotland*) so all *England* is a Market to *London*. And every Market and Fair in the most remote Parts, send Beasts, Sheep, Hogs, and Horses, Grain, Cheese, Butter, &c. to *London*, by Land and Water, and *London* Money pays for them, which enables them to pay their Rents, as well as in *London*.

And by that Means, and the Cheapness of Provisions, they are as able to pay Four Shillings *per* Pound, as *London* is to pay but Two Shillings in the Pound.

And if all Estates were registered faithfully (as necessary to prevent fraudulent Conveyances) it would advance the Value of Lands, &c. and the Land-Tax equitably paid by the Registers, Elections might be equitably and peaceably made, and all Counties have Voices in Parliament, by the Representatives, in Number, equal to the Money they pay to support the Government; and we shall then be built on the Foundation of Justice, and *England* will not be safe and happy till then. — But then the Building, (*i. e.*) our Elections must not be made by Drunkenness and Quarrelling, and Fighting, Bribery, and Perjury, as now it is, to the Dishonour of God, and the great Scandal and Detriment of the Nation.

P. This is Time for talking of Evils to be removed; but how it shall be effectually remedied, seems impossible to me; especially in the main Point, the Article of Bribery and Perjury.

E. There

E. There is one Way to do it effectually, and but one to which no just and reasonable Objection can be made; and that is to *Elect by Balloting*; I know an Objection has been made to it. *viz.* We the Candidates, can't then know our Friends from our Adversaries, and so not know to whom to be grateful:---But instead of this false Plea, no Man should offer himself a Candidate; and no Man that has not a clandestine Design in, or vain Pride, will offer himself to undergo the Fatigue and Trouble, at the vast Expence in Elections, that now is used, to the great weakening their Estates; and Impoverishment of their Families. And instead of Gentlemen offering themselves, to be at a vast Cost and Trouble, and thank the People for it: The People should consider and *ballot* for such Gentlemen as they know, and think them to be the fittest Persons to represent them in Parliament: And by a fit Agent humbly request those Gentlemen to do them the Favour to be their Representatives: And such Gentlemen as decline it should previously give Notice of it: And the People in every Parish, with their Minister and Parish-Officers, in the Church should pray for God's Direction and Blessing, and there *ballot* for Agents to act for them, at the *County Court*, and there in their Name and Behalf, *ballot* for so many Members, as is proportion'd to the County Payments to the Public, and give their *Ballots* to the Justices at the Quarter-Sessions, to be publicly opened by them, and be written in Columns, under the Names of those Gentlemen for whom they vote, and each Justice have a Book as the Commissioners of Lottery-Tickets, as a Checque; and if they pitch upon more than needs, they should reduce them to those that have most Votes; and if they do them the Favour to represent them, they ought most humbly to thank them for it.

P. I have heard your new Proposals Sir, with Attention ; but I think it as impossible to take Place as to remove a Mountain.

E. Sir, there will be no Impossibility or Difficulty in it (if as in good Policy they ought to do) each County and Town, and Parish, do loyally, dutifully, and most humbly petition his Majesty to send Writs of Election for County Members only, and proportionably, as they pay most considerably to the Support of Government ; and none to be elected for any Towns : For except every Town elected, it would be partial, as it now is ; and if they did, it would be too great a Number.

And indeed, as Members are not now elected of the Towns-Men, and paid by the Town, for their Charges in representing them, as was formerly done ; but that Gentlemen of great Estates, are now, and none but such ought to be elected ; it is certainly most equitable that no Members should be elected for any Towns, but a proportionate Number for each County only, according to its Extent and Wealth ; and not in riotous Assemblies of all the Electors together ; too many of them being Split-Freehold Forty Shillings Mob-Electors, but each Parish with their Minister and chief Officers (as Page 7 proposed) vote for Agents to elect for them ; and the whole collected and scrutenized at the Quarter-Sessions, and the Numbers of Members there ballotted for, if more, reduced by the Bench of Justices, by the most Votes, to the Number pre-appointed in each County.

P. Sir, your Scheme is now got into *Utopia*. How can you imagine it will ever be comply'd with by the Community,
or

or that the King will consent to divest himself of a necessary Interest in the House of Commons?

E. Sir, you seem to grow impatient, pray hear me out, and then approve, or disapprove, as you think fit.

As to the Community, the greater Part that are most wealthy, and have Reason on their Side, will easily overpower the lesser and poorer Part, that against Reason and Equity, are now predominant, and lord it over the greater Part, when they ought to submit to them, and may be forced to do it, without riotous Insurrections; if the greater and wealthy Part will rouse themselves from stupid lethargic Indolence, and assert their Right, not by Force of Arms, but by fair Pleading, and humble Representations to his Majesty.

On the other Hand I am very sensible, that to lessen the King's Prerogative, so necessary to Government, and to deprive him of a requisite Interest, and Influence, in the House of Commons, is of dangerous Consequence, both to the King and People: For there are so many young and unexperienced, and self-conceited wise; and so few that well understand the true Arts and Rules, and Methods of Government, that a House of Commons, as now elected, if they were without Coersion, would turn Government into Anarchy and Confusion, or into a headless Democracy, as has been done; and we have seen a House of Lords has not been able to controul it; or, if there was no Check upon the House of Lords, they might set up an uncontrollable Aristocracy, or a more tyrannical Oligarchy. As, on the other Hand, a King that is absolutely, and entirely arbitrary and despotical, may soon become an uncontrollable Tyrant, and ruin, not only his Subjects, but himself too, as we see in History many Tyrants have done, and fall'n a miserable

miserable Sacrifice to their own lawless Tyranny. ---- Indeed a Tyrant can't act alone, or without Assistants to support his Tyranny. But we find too many Men are of tyrannical Spirits, and like to have a Tyrant at their Head; as he must allow them to be Tyrants of every Rank, and not force them to submit to Laws of Justice and Equity, but to permit their Oppressions of their Fellow-Subjects. And this is the true but secret evil Reason, why *Tories* cry up indefeasible Right to Tyranny, contrary to God's Ordinance, and to the King's Safety, as well as destructive to all the People, that are not wolfish Tyrants, but peaceable Sheep, and Lovers of Equity.

So that for the Safety and Happiness of both King and People, a moderate Equilibrium is best; but yielding a sufficient Ponderation in the Ballance, on the Kings Part, for a Head can't stand without a potent Power to support it.

And as the King has the sole Creation of the House of Lords, allowing them reasonable Honours and Priviledges, and reserving some Restraints on their Power. So in a House of Commons, elected free from Bribery and Perjury; it would be absolutely necessary, that the King should nominate in his Writ, a Part of them, I will not presume to say a third, or how many of the House of Commons, and the People chuse the rest, for I don't assume to dictate, but humbly propose.

And in a House of Commons so modell'd, and chose by Balloting; it would not be troublesome, or any hindrance of Business, to elect them every Year; but as it is now elected seven Years is often enough---But for Members to vote in the House by Balloting, as was mov'd for in Queen *Anne's* last Parliament; may be of dangerous Consequence---But Balloting
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in Electing Members, is the safest and only Way to prevent Bribery and Perjury; and to have a real and free Election; for it can't be free, when made by Bribery, or by Force of Superiors, on Penalty of Non-Submission to them, as has been practis'd much more by that (wickedly) call'd the Country Party, than by the Court Influence: even to the great Weakening of many Estates and Purfes, and Ruin of their Posterity.

And now to compleat my Proposal; let us consider that when 40 *s. per Ann.* was first made a Qualification to vote for a Country Member, of Parliament; it was equivalent to 40 *l. per Ann.* now; and if none had now a Right to vote, that had not 20 *l.* or 10 *l. per Ann.* Rents; or Stock in Trade 100 *l.* or 50 *l.* or probable Gain by handycraft Trade, equivalent to 100 *l.* or 50 *l.* in Stock; it would prevent the infamous splitting of Freeholds, to make them Freeholders; and be a reasonable Exception to, or Rejection of all Votes, from the tumultuous Rabble, that pay nothing to the Support of Government, or that have small Parish Dues paid for them, and Bribes given them by the Candidates, to gain their Votes; small Parish Payments alone, without paying some proportionate Rate of Assessment, in national Taxes; does not seem to be a fit Qualification to vote for Members of Parliament.

And there is a great Disparity in many Boroughs, in the different Number and Qualifications of Voters.—In some larger Boroughs, there are too few Electors, who are said to sell the Borough to their own private Interest and corrupt Gain.—And in some Boroughs there are too many Electors, of the Dregs of the People, that are rather a Burden, than a Support of the Government, and are the Cause of unlawful and dangerous Riots at Elections; which ought to be made in a

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peaceable Manner; as best becoming a wife and equitable People.

And as Buroughs are so unequal, and that Members don't fit, or vote in Parliament for Buroughs; but for the whole Kingdom.---It is far more rational and just, that all Members should be chose for the whole Kingdom, by suitable Numbers in each County; proportionable to their Extent, and Payments, to the Support of the King and Kingdom, and none to be chosen for any particular Buroughs, for except every Town elected one or more Members, it is not equitable, that some should and others not elect: Or if one in small Towns, and (I repeat it as necessary) that more in large Towns, would make too great a Number of Members; and on all Accounts Elections for *Countries only*, is the most politick and equitable Way of Election.

London with *Middlesex*, and other large Towns with their respective Countries, should elect a Number of Representatives, proportionate to their Payments, to support the public Charge.

But no Man should be elected, but for the Country in which he is an Inhabitant; and his Qualifications well known to the Electors; who should not be allow'd to chuse Gentlemen whom they know not; nor from whence they come, as is now done.

But all the Electors in each County, need not assemble together in one Place.---But as the Common Council in *London*, nominate some to be chose by the Aldermen for Lord Mayor, or as in *Venice* they nominate thro' every Class, from the lowest to the highest Rank by Ballot, for the high Officers,
to

to be chose by the great Council of the Republick.—So in *England* every Parish, may in a peaceable Assembly in the Church, nominate by Ballot ; one or more Deputies, who as their Agents, shall in a County assembly of them, by Ballot, vote for so many Representatives for the County, in Parliament ; as is adequate to the County, in Proportion to other Counties, and determin'd by the Justices in Sessions, as before noted—And as to Numbers in the whole, as the House of Lords is increased, and as the Number of the Gentry and People are increased, so may the Number of Members be, proportionably increased with Moderation, and the whole be amicably carried on to make us (according to your Wish) safe, easy and happy.

P. I have now heard you Sir, with Patience, and you have dispelled most of my Doubts, but there is one thing yet that I can't but fear, and that is to make such a Change as you propose, will cause a Rebellion, not to be put an End to, for how can you think that the great Number of Boroughs, will part with the Honours and Privileges, which they have so many Ages enjoy'd.

E. I believe Sir your Fear of that will vanish if you will recollect what I have already said, Page 9. And when you consider that former Kings have disfranchiz'd some Boroughs, and granted Charters to others, that were not Borough Towns before. And the wealthy Parts of the Nation will over-power the poor Boroughs, by fair pleading, without Tumult, or be well able to suppress Riots.

And the Example of *Scotland* at the Union shews, that the whole Method, and Manner of electing Members of Parliament, was chang'd at once: And their Number alter'd without

without any Rebellion, or Disturbance of the Peace; and why may not the same be done in *England*, and *Ireland*, and in all his Majesty's Dominions with the same Safety. And it will undoubtedly tend to his Majesty's Security, Honour and Glory, and to the great Reputation of the Kingdoms, and Provinces in his Dominions; and to the common Welfare of all.

But as the Case now stands, the Root of our political Constitution in Elections, is very bad, and the Branches must needs be of the same evil Nature, and the Fruit of most pernicious Consequence: And our Iniquity seems to be so near full, that we may justly fear, we are on the Brink of Destruction, by our Enemies; as the *Amorites* were foretold to be destroy'd, *Gen.* xv. 16. or by God's immediate Vengeance, as the *Sodomites* were, or as the *Antidiluvian* World was, *Mat.* vii. 15, to 19.

P. Sir, I am now more fully satisfy'd in your Scheme, and will give my Vote to have the Experiment try'd; and I heartily wish it may have its full and happy Effect.

E. Sir, I am very glad you have chang'd your Opinion, but I expect some Gentlemen will raise Objections to my Proposals,—as first—that if the King has the Nomination of any Members in the House of Commons; none but those will be taken into Places of Honour, Trust, and Profit, and the rest will be for ever excluded.

But this will appear to be a meer imaginary Suggestion, for as the King do's not personally know many Gentlemen, the King's Nomination may rather be said to be his Approbation of some Gentlemen recommended to him, by their
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neighbouring Gentlemen; and so in Effect to be their Choice, who are better Judges of Men's Qualifications than Forty Shilling Electors, and will be free from Bribery, Corruption and Perjury, --- and be the same thing as Gentlemen in each County, now nominate several Gentlemen for High Sheriffs; three of whom are recommended by the Judges, to his Majesty; and he by the Advice of his Council appoints one.

And it would be as impolitic as partial, for the King to appoint none in Places of Trust, but those that are of his List of Members. Gentlemen of Merit and due Qualifications, will not be excluded, but readily receiv'd, as we see by Experience, in the former, and in the present Reign; and to which their being of different Parties, has been no Objection or Obstacle.

I perceive another Obstacle will arise, on Pretence that their Towns were made Boroughs, for some eminent Services, done by their Ancestors, in opposing Invasions, or in quelling Insurrections, and Rebellions, which indeed ought to be well rewarded; but not in such manner as to be the Cause of greater future Evils, or to prejudice others Rights and Privileges. The Rewards should either be personal and particular, without Prejudice to others Rights, or to make it a Snare to their Descendants, in being bribed to sell their Liberties and Properties at Elections for Members of Parliament.

And their Rewards should be building and endowing them Churches, Chapels, Hospitals, Bridges or Town-Halls, or large Market-Houses, to keep Market-People from Rain; or Lands for the Support of their Magistracy and Town; and a Pillar, and an Inscription on it, to perpetuate their good Acts to all Posterity: To be an Inducement to others to do their Duty to the King and Kingdom; and not to make partial Elections, that ought to be equal and common to the whole Kingdom.

To state the Case impartially; if Ancestors have deservedly gain'd great Privileges to their Towns; do not their Descendants forfeit those Privileges by Bribery and Perjury at Elections or otherwise?

Or if Towns have been disfranchised for Ancestors Crimes, should all their Posterity, tho' very good Subjects, suffer for it for-ever?

God has decreed and declared, that one Law should be to all People. *Exodus* the xii. 38. Verse 49, 50. And the following Texts are a good and equitable Rule to all Ranks of Men in their several Stations. *Proverbs* xi, 18, 19. Chap. xiii. 6. Chap. xiv. 34, 35. Chap. xvi. 12. Chap. xx. 28. Chap. xxi. 21. Chap. xxv. 5. *Isaiah* i. 26, 27, 28. Chap. v. 15, 18. Chap. viii. 20. Chap. xi. 1 to 5. Chap. xxxii. 1, 2. Verse 15 to 18. Chap. xxxiii. 5, 6. Chap. xxxv. 13. *Matt.* xxiv. 43, 44. *Luke* xii. 39, 40. Chap. xiv. 31. *1 Thef.* 5 to Verse 9. *Rom.* xiii. 1, to Verse 7. *1 Pet.* ii. 13, to Verse 17.

P. I think you have now fully compleated your Scheme, by obviating all Objections that can be made.

E. I hope so too Sir—But there is one thing more wanting, not in the Legislature, but to be serviceable to them—And that is a Board of Representors consisting of some wealthy Farmers and Artisans, and Manufacturers, who see more into low Life than Gentlemen of great Estates can do, and they may have some convenient Place to assemble in, at the beginning of a Sessions for three Weeks or a Month, to consult together (as the *Dublin Society* does) and represent to the Board of Trade, such Things as they think necessary and what the Board of Trade approves of, should be offer'd to the Consideration of both Lords and Commons, for the King's Sanction.

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By these Representors conversing together, both Culture and Manufactors may be improv'd, and things detrimental to both be obviated, or prevented, and there may be in each County, one Farmer, one Manufacturer, and one Artist, chose and a daily Rate paid them, for the time that they are from home, to be paid out of the Treasury or other ways—And if upon Tryal they are found to be beneficial to the Nation, the Charge will be well answered, if not they may be discontinued.

But I must observe that once when I was in Company with some Members; one of them a yea and no, to whom I was not known, was offended that I said such a Clause—would be necessary in an Act then to be pass'd—And he answered they knew well enough within Doors what to do, and they would not be taught without Doors—I reply'd I did not presume to instruct, but to inform and as a free Man I had a Right to speak my Opinion.

And indeed the many deficient Acts that prove ineffectual, or hurtful; demonstrate that Information is wanting, in what they can't know but by Information from Men of Experience.—But the Representor's Representations, should be confin'd to Culture and Trade, Roads, Bridges, Rivers and Fish, &c. And restrain'd from offering at State Affairs.

It may be as above objected, that this Project is needless.—because Members may be informed of all these things at their own Houses.—But Experience shews, that being so inform'd, has always prov'd ineffectual, and so will ever be.—Because Men in Consultation may, in Acts and Manufacture improve many Things, which singly cannot do, (as we see by the *Dublin* Society, and otherwise)—And Members in State Offices have too much Business, to admit of such Informations, as are necessary to be given on such Heads, and such Members as
enter

enter into Debates on state Affairs, in Prospect of Advancement by it, will not take Notice of them.---And Members that are passive, and only say yea, or no; if they hear what their Neighbours say, and can judge a little of the Case, they will not move in the House of Commons for Bills, nor speak to others to do it; of which I have known abundance of Instances. And all our Books of Agriculture are defective, as being only adapted to a particular Climate, or Soil, in which the Author lived. And an Application to the whole Kingdom being never made, with Respect to different Soils or Climates.

P. I believe Sir, that you cannot, or need not, say more on this Subject.---And as I perceive you have it all in your Thoughts and Memory, I wish you would have it printed, towards the Dissolution of the present Parliament.

E. I had an Intention to print my Thoughts of it, before you and I had this Discourse upon it: And when it is printed, I will most humbly offer it to the Consideration of his Majesty, and to the Lords and Gentry, and to all the People: And I shall humbly submit to their Decision and Determination (who have Right and Power to determine in the Scheme) as a dutiful and loyal Subject.

E Q U I T A T I U S.—

N. B. Had *Philo-Anglus* been living, I would not have printed this Scheme in a Dialogue, without his Consent; but as my own Opinion, for tho' he desired me to print it, he did not say in Dialogue, and I did not mention it to him. But now he is dead, I print it in that Form, as it can't injure his Memory, his Name being conceal'd, and it will be more explicate to many Readers.

3 DECO
A P P E N D I X.

A P P E N D I X.

I THINK it not unnecessary to subjoin the particular Numbers of Members of the House of Commons, chosen in each County, distinguishing those chosen for the Twelve Counties that have most Wool, and are the most conveniently situated for a clandestine Trade to *France*, &c. that it may the more plainly appear how very necessary, as well as politic and just, it is to have an equitable Election in each County in *England*, as seems to be in *Scotland* and *Wales*.

In the Twelve Counties as above.

<i>In the Twelve Counties as above.</i>						
Cornwall	—	—	44	Bedfordshire	—	4
Devonshire	—	—	26	Berks	—	9
Somersetshire	—	—	18	Buckinghamshire	—	14
Dorsetshire	—	—	20	Cambridgeshire	—	6
Wiltshire	—	—	34	Cheshire	—	4
Hampshire	—	—	26	Cumberland	—	6
Surrey	—	—	14	Derbyshire	—	4
Suffex	—	—	20	Durham County	—	4
Kent	—	—	10	Glostershire	—	8
Cinque Ports included in those	—	—	16	Herefordshire	—	8
Two Counties	—	—	46	Hartfordshire	—	6
Essex	—	—	8	Huntingtonshire	—	4
Suffolk	—	—	16	Lancashire	—	14
Norfolk	—	—	12	Leicestershire	—	4
				Lincolnshire	—	12
				Middlesex	—	8
				Monmouthshire	—	3
				Northamptonshire	—	9
				Northumberland	—	8
				Nottinghamshire	—	8
				Oxfordshire	—	9
				Rutlandshire	—	2
				Salop	—	12
				Staffordshire	—	10
				Warwickshire	—	6
				Westmoreland	—	4
				Worcestershire	—	9
				Yorkshire	—	30
						Carried to the other Side 225
<i>In the other Counties as on the</i>						
other Side	—	—	225			
<i>More in the Twelve Counties than in</i>						
all the rest by	—	—	39			
Which is a scandalous and pernicious						
Partiality, and ought in Justice to be brought						
to a State of Equity, for the Safety and						
Prosperity of the Kingdom : For now some						
have all the Liberty and Property, and						
others none at all in Elections.						

The Total of Members in <i>England</i> , is	_____	480
<i>Wales</i>	_____	024
<i>Scotland</i>	_____	045
	In all	558
And may be increas'd to	_____	600

G

I thought

I thought, by the Union, *Scotland* was to have Sixty Members in the House of Commons; but Dr. *Chamberlain's Present State of Great-Britain* says, but Forty-Five.

But why should not all the Three united Nations have Members in Numbers proportioned to their Payments to the public Service, and the Disbursements necessary to each, which indeed is vastly more in *England*, both in Payments and Disbursements; and so in Equity, should have a far greater Number of Representatives in Parliament.

But now, after I have fully expos'd and exploded the pernicious Iniquity of Bribery and Perjury in Elections, it is to be expected that a violent Opposition will be made, by those Agents who are the Cats-paws, between corrupt Candidates and corrupted Electors; and get a great deal of Money by it, or have Places of Profit given for their wicked Reward: And these Wretches, as pernicious Incendiaries, will, every-where try to blow up the Mob-Electors into a Flame, and instigate them to a furious Opposition, to prevent this equitable and salutary Scheme from being brought into Practice, as in good Policy it ought to be, and may be done with Ease, if the greater Number, and those of most Consideration, will be wise and just to themselves, and not suffer the Feet any longer to trample on the Body (of the Nation) to the Dishonour and real Detriment of the Head, and the Confusion and Damage of the whole Kingdom: By which Irregularity those that should be Masters, are Slaves to those that ought to be their Servants.

There is another Obstacle, and a great Misfortune it is to the public Happiness, that a great Number of Men are so supine and regardless of public Good, that as long as they can sit quietly over their Pipe and Glass, or Pot, they will
not

not stir even to withstand imminent Dangers to the Kingdom. But sure it is high Time to rouse from that indolent and stupid Lethargy, that is too Epidemical in the Nation, when having a Privilege call'd the Petition of Right — or Right of Property to petition, they will not make Use of it. I can't pass over my Remarks, on Mr *Leverland's* Offer of 1500*l.* to *Calm*, for their Election of a Candidate of his proposing. He certainly made the Offer too open and unguarded, or not rightly apply'd : Or else they had a larger Offer from another Hand, more secretly and properly apply'd.

However, I remember, that in Queen *Anne's* last Parliament, Mr. *Ducket* told me, he had all the Votes of the Town of *Calm*, except one or two, besides the Bailiff, who was the returning Officer ; and return'd another Gentleman for their Member, and the Commons rejected his Petition, and declar'd the other duly elected ; on which he said to me, that he told them, that none of them had any Right to sit there, if he had not : And it was not for a small Sum that the Bailiff return'd the other Gentleman.

I once saw at a Borough, on the Morning of Election, that one Candidate *A.* had twice the Number of the other *B.* but of the poorer Sort, when *B.* sent to *A.* to desire the Election might be deferr'd till Afternoon, some of his Voters being out and not return'd ; which was with a despising Air, allow'd of by *A.* And in the Afternoon *B.* had the Majority of Votes, by his Agent carrying a large Purse of Guineas to distribute at every House.

And the *Wr.* Independants, have only contriv'd a closer Way to gain the more by it, with less Trouble.

There

There is one Thing more to be observ'd, as a necessary Subsequent to equitable Elections (*viz.*) that it was very ill Policy, as well as Partial and Unjust, to grant to some Parts of the Community, Rights, Properties, Privileges, and Powers, which the greater and better Part of the Commonwealth are not allow'd. And as those Privileges are made very ill use of, they are of very ill Consequence, to those on whom they are conferr'd, as well as to others that suffer by them.

It is necessary indeed that large Towns should have more Magistrates and some with greater Powers, than in the small Towns and Villages, and some to be Justices of the Peace. But the impolitick Use they generally make of their Powers, impoverishes the Towns by restraining useful Hands of Men from being Inhabitants, without paying a great Sum for their Freedom; which makes Houses stand empty in such Towns, and many fall down for Want of Inhabitants: Whilst Towns that admit all useful Strangers to live with them freely, do daily increase in Numbers and Wealth. And all that Towns Corporate get for granting Freedoms, or by Elections, does not increase their Riches, but sinks them into Poverty, by the Stagnation of Trade, whilst free Towns daily increase in Numbers and Wealth. For Instance, *Birmingham* has now three Times more People, and ten Times more Trade and Wealth, than it had fifty Years ago; and the same may be said of *Manchester*, and *Sheffield*, and *Sunderland*, and some clothing Towns. And some Towns Corporate are so wise, as to encourage all useful Hands that will come to inhabit with them freely, and increase in Numbers and Wealth by so doing.

But generally their narrow Conceptions of Things in Corporations, fixes them in a wrong Maxim, *viz.* we will not let Foreigners (as they call all that are born out of their Liberties)

berties) come in to eat our Bread, and starve our Children, when it is evident they starve themselves, and their Children, by prohibiting Foreigners to live in their Towns; only a poor Mayor or Bailiff gets some Pounds to their own Pockets by it. But what they get in the Penny, they loose in the Pound, or what they get in the Pound, they loose *per Cent*. But the best Policy, is to have but one Law for all the Kingdom, as God commanded. *Exodus xii. 49.*

And as Towns corporate are poor by keeping out Strangers, and free Towns grow rich by receiving them, to inhabit with them, it is the same with Respect to the whole Kingdom. -- The Aborigines in *England* were comparatively few and poor, and seem to be but one Degree from brute Animals, -- 'till the *Romans* greatly increased them, and taught them to live like Men. They taught them Culture and Trade, and made Roads fit for Communication and Commerce. And the first Inhabitants were a Mixture of *Phœnicians* and *Græcians*, and the *Roman Army* was compos'd of Men of all Nations, many of whom became settled Inhabitants in *England*; then the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans* successively were Inhabitants.

In Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the *Walloons*, brought the Woollen Manufactures into *England*, and great Numbers settled in *Norwich*, *Norfolk*, at *Colchester* at *Canterbury*, and other Parts; and many Thousands of *French* came to *London*, and other Parts of the Country, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* By all which *England* has gradually increas'd in Numbers and Wealth; and will continue to do so, if we are wise enough to admit of a general Naturalization, with reasonable Exceptions and Limitation. We have spare Lands enough to receive them, and they will bring Hands sufficient to cultivate them, and Mouths to eat the Product thereof. So by increasing our Numbers and Wealth, we shall increase Trade and Navigation: Which will enable us to protect

tect ourselves from foreign Enemies, and prevent their Encroaching upon our foreign Territories, by making them more Populous, with Part of our naturaliz'd People, and in Part with home born Subjects.

And as we are a mix'd People, aggregated from all Parts of the World, what Pretence have we to exclude Foreigners from being naturaliz'd, and becoming one People with us.--- When we receiv'd the *Palatines*, we had not previously provided proper Settlements for them, which made them for some Time Burthensome, and discourag'd others from coming to us. But some Good has accru'd from such as settled in *Ireland*, and *America*, and if we had settled some of them in *England* it would have been better for us.

Great Part of the Forrests, and Chafes, would enrich the King and relieve the Civil List, if they were turn'd into Farms. And if a good Price was given for all common Grounds, it would enable them to put their Children to a better Sort of Living, than in a lazy employ of tending a Cow, or a few Sheep, as now is the unhappy Case of many People.

And now after what I have humbly address'd and offer'd to Consideration of all Estates in the Kingdom. --- I can't fear the Displeasure of any one in Justice. --- And I hope the Time now approaching, may be made Use of to repair our broken Foundation, and to fix it upon a firm and impregnable Basis, for the King, and all Subjects Happiness. Since nothing but a Foundation fix'd on Justice and Equity, can retrieve our primitive Compact, prescrib'd by God, and fix us upon it to our Safety, and solid Security for ourselves, and for all our future Posterity, to the End of the World.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

ONE thing more is necessary to compleat the whole Scheme, and that is, the Qualification of Members, as to their natural Capacity, fit Age, knowledge of public Affairs, and due Experience.

Sanhedrim Elders, Senate, Witengemoot, and Parliament are synonymous Terms, for a Grand Council of a Kingdom, compos'd of grave Aldermen, of good natural Capacities, Knowledge, and Experience in public Affairs, and not under Forty Years of Age, when their Thoughts are taken off all youthful Vices, Sports and Games, and are fix'd upon Ways and Means to increase and establish the public Prosperity, in which every Man's true Interest is concern'd and secur'd; and such only are fit to consult in making good Laws, and of correcting or abrogating bad ones.

How then can it be consistent with the Honour and good Policy of a Kingdom, or with the Dignity of a Senate, or of Patriot Seniors, to admit of ignorant jejune Pupils, to Vote with them in making Laws, before they know how to obey the Laws, and before they have well learn'd how to manage their Horses, Dogs, Hawks, and Fishing Tackle, on which all their Thoughts are fix'd in public, or on other too fashionable juvenile Gaieties not so innocent.

It is not agreeable to the Wisdom and Honour of a Kingdom, to have such for Senators, nor to God's Ordinance, *Deut. i. 13.* Chuse you Men that are known to you, to be Wise and Understanding, as the only way to have equitable and good Laws made: *Chap. iv. 8.*

And the sad Effects of having young and ignorant Novices empower'd, is sensibly felt, and is described in *Isa. iii. 1. to 5.* as being Oppressors of the People, — either thro' Pride and Wantonness, or want of Skill and good Policy.

Of too great a Number of such Men, the *Parliamentum Insanum* at *Oxford*, the 14th of *Hen. III.* and the *Parliamentum Indoctum* at *Coventry*, 6th of *Hen. IV.* seem to have been.

And how should it be otherwise, if Boroughs are suffered to chuse Men that they never saw, nor heard of, till they come or send Money to bribe them to betray and divide the United Interest of both King and Country, to the Damage, Insecurity, and Intranquility of both?

And

And as to young Gentlemen, it seems to me, that one that has a good natural Capacity, and is sensible of his want of sufficient Knowledge and Experience to be a Senator, would not like to appear in a Senate, till he is by Years duly qualify'd for it; and that no one but an empty Self-conceited Princock, that Years can never make a good Senator, would offer to be a Member of, or appear in it.

Gentlemen are not admitted to plead in Law Causes, till after Seven Years Study in the Law; why then be admitted to make Laws, till they have been allow'd many Years to be (some at once) in a proper Place, (as the Gallery at St. Stephens) at fit Times, to see, and hear, and learn in Silence, what a Senator ought to know, before they are admitted to be Senators, and to speak in the Senate, or can tell to what to say, yea or no.

It does not appear that any Clergyman is admitted to be a Member of the Convocation, (the Spiritual Senate) till they are of fit Years and Experience, to be Dignitaries in the Church; and why have the Laity the Dignity of a Member of the Lay Senate, till so qualify'd by Years, Knowledge and Experience. A Senator of Venice must be Forty Years old, why of twenty One here? I will now conclude with repeating *Philo-Anglus's* Quere, "O! when will England be Safe, Easy, and Happy?" And with *Equitatus's* Answer, "When we are all of us Wise and Honest."

Lord Burleigh's Maxim, That England can never be undone but by a Parliament, was almost verify'd in the endless Parliament begun 1641, but sunk into Oblivion, in which were many honest Men, but they were over-powered by a few designing Knaves, join'd with many young Members that were their Dupes, and voted in every Thing, as they dictated to them; as will ever be the Case if allow'd to sit in the Senate.

They may see, hear, and learn, but not be allow'd to vote till they are Veterans in good Policy.

3 DE60

F I N I S.

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Mr. Zephaniah & Mrs. M. S. 1711

